1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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leaders of such a movement are bound to have an intense emulation-solidarity conflict. Should a cultural movement develop under these conditions, it is bound to be marked not only by a re-emphasis of distinctive traits and the characteristic naturalizing tendencies which arise from the emulation-solidarity conflict, but also by strikingly innovative processes. For such an elite the only recourse which will simultaneously preserve distinctiveness and solidarity on the one hand, and express their own deep evaluations of what is true, beautiful, and worthy of rank on the other, is to produce their own "Great Tradition"; or they may borrow a distinctive one from some other society than the one in which they are encysted. If they create one of their own it is likely in fundamentals to be much like that of the dominant society but to differ conspicuously in lesser matters, retaining distinctive traditional practices. But even the fundamentals which are imported must be naturalized both to maintain distinctiveness and to penetrate successfully the non-elite. Such cultural creativity is likely to develop a momentum of its own as personal expression pride of creativity, and public recognition of culture-producers comes into play. Thus a cultural movement which begins largely as a means of strengthening solidarity so that political gains can be made may become genuinely creative, though it must continue to satisfy the requirements of its original impetus.

17 To return to Santal historical experiences, from the pre-British period in which rank concession began to the 1930's and the advent of political democracy, excluding brief periods of nineteenth-century rebellion, solidarity was increasingly undermined. Rank concession was producing emulation, differential emulation, and power-incorporative borrowing. The

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17 evidence suggests that migration was the chief means of responding to this pressure so as to maintain the integrity of Santal society. With British control, the spreading market, growing wealth differences, and external encroachment add to the previous centrifugal tendencies. Santal solidarity continued to be sufficient to permit the rebellions of the nineteenth century, but their crushing defeat, in the absence of democratic political opportunity, meant complete closure of the political rank path. Thereafter the decline of solidarity accelerated, and Hinduized sects began to develop. An additional centrifugal force, industrial development, appeared in the early part of this century among the southern Santal. It affected all of this population by accelerating economic opportunity and increasing education but had an additional disintegrative effect on migrant industrial workers.

Culturally, the entire period from pre-British times to political democracy is one of increasing Hinduization. Except for the brief periods of rebellion, from the time of British control to the 1930's the Santal pursued rank almost exclusively via economic mobility and emulation. The cultural consequence of this rank path plus the disintegrative tendencies inherent in rank concession and being encysted is to increase the "cultural load," i.e., to increase the number of borrowed traits which reduce distinctiveness and are internally the object of invidious comparison. This threat to internal solidarity was noted in the growing antipathy between rich and poor and the surpassing importance of "envy." On behalf of traditional solidarity, efforts were made to halt emulation and participation in Hindu ceremonies, but with limited success. There is also evidence from this period of the naturalizing processes which arise from

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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17 the emulation-solidarity conflict. Nevertheless, the cultural load tended to increase, particularly in unaltered Hindu attributes of rank value.

17 668 The new political rank path of the 1930's, with its need for increased solidarity, created enough pressure through the emulation-solidarity conflict to generate a cultural movement. Not only were serious efforts made to curtail borrowing and to abandon emulative practices, but various emulative characteristics previously absorbed were naturalized. While distinctive traits of low rank value received new emphasis, the "Great Tradition" aspect of the movement imported essentially Hindu orientations into the culture, naturalizing them by means of innovative combination with traditional customs. The most striking examples of this have been the creations of "Esteemed Guru."

12.1 As an aid to thought the major principles of the RCS as applied to encysted societies are succinctly listed below. However, this condensed statement has required some obvious oversimplification and is not meant as a substitute for the more discursive discussion which precedes it.

*The RCS as Applied to Encysted Societies**

1. The "cultural load" of the encysted society is inversely related to its solidarity and its ability to resist assimilation.
2. Rank concession produces a tendency to emulate; since emulation increases the cultural load, rank concession is also destructive of solidarity.
3. Emulation is likely to be of the differential variety.
4. A dominantly economic rank path decreases solidarity.

* All of the following propositions should be qualified by *ceteris paribus*.

31 Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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are known to have followed in their retreat corresponds on the whole with that attributed to them in their tribal legends."

Rev. P. O. Bodding[1] however is inclined to give due weight to the traditional origin of the Santals. Summing up the whole position he opines that the Cae and Campa of Santal myths are to be found in Hazaribagh and on the Chotanagpur plateau, where they lived about 600 years ago, and gives it as his conclusion that a study of Santal traditions and their language makes it likely that they reached this place from the west (south-west): and it is not improbable that about two thousand years ago they were on both sides of the Ganges west of Benares.

We would conclude this chapter with a reference to the myths of the other Muṇḍà tribes to see if any side-light may be obtained on the early history of the Santals. Now, speaking generally, there is a good deal of resemblance between the traditions of the Muṇḍàs, the Santals and the Khaṛias, which makes the conclusion irresistible that they belong to the same stock. We have seen that the Santals say that upto the period the people were at Campa,[2] the

1. *Bengal District Gazetteers*, Santal Parganas, Vol. XXII, pp. 92-95.

2. Campa = According to S. C. Roy, (p. 100. footnote) Campa was also the old name of Bhagalpur and its political boundary "may be stated as extending from

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17 Santals, Birhòrs, Muṇḍàs and Kurbmis were known under the generic name of Kharwars. And we hear that while the Kurbmis adopted Hindu customs, the Muṇḍàs were gradually separated. Both the Santals and the Muṇḍàs have legends connected with Bhagalpur, in so far as it is probably indentical with Campa or Campa-puri, near Bhagalpur, once the capital of Lomapada of the Ramayana and Karna of the Mahabharata.[1] A tradition of the place linking it with Mandar Pahar of Muṇḍà myths, a building of stone attributed to Raja Kola or Chola, the probability that Colgong or Koholgram may point to a former settlement of the Pre-Dravidians, all raise a strong presumption that it was a seat of the Muṇḍàs in some period of Indian history, when they lived side by side with the Santals. Similarly, Khàiri gar of Santal

[103] [114] Lekhiterai to Rajmahal on the Ganges, and from the Pareshnath hill along Damudar river to Kalna on the Bhagirathi." Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India" p. 478. Colonel Dalton (*Ethnology of Bengal*, page 211) identifies Khairagrah and Chai Champa of Santal tradition with places in the Hazaribagh district. But it seems more probable that these names were given by the Santals to places in the Hazaribagh district after the names of their former homes in the north and west. (At p. 219, however, Col. Dalton speaking about the Beer-hors, says that according to tradition they came to Hazaribagh district from Khairagarh (in the Kaimur hills). Ref. *The Muṇḍàs and their country*.

1. Ref. *The Muṇḍàs and their country*, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, p. 99.